

CONTRIVANCES

OF THE

Fanatical Conspirators,

In carrying on their TREASONS under the Umbrage

OF THE

POPISH PLOT,

L A I D O P E N :

W I T H

DEPOSITIONS

Sworn before the

Secretary of STATE.

Wherein it most plainly appears,

This Present Horrid Rebellion

Monmouth rebellion in 1685

Hath been Design'd by the *Republicans* many Years.

A N D T H A T

J A M E S the late D. of Monmouth, &c.

Were long since highly Concern'd therein.

With some Account of Mr. *D I S N E Y*, who was lately apprehended
for Printing the Rebellious Traiterous *D E C L A R A T I O N*.

W. Smith Written by a Gentleman who was formerly Conversant amongst them.

L O N D O N ,

published in Nov. 1685

Printed for the Author, and Sold by the Booksellers
of *London and Westminster*, Anno Dom. 1685.

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INTRIGUES OF THE POPISH PLOT, &c.

I Intend not with a long preamble to trouble the Reader, or to wheedle ignorant unthinking Fops, or malicious ill natur'd Hypocrites into a good Opinion of me; the censure or approbation of both these, I neither dread nor value: it is before the Charitable, Vertuous, and Judicious person I will arraign my self; and waving all excuses, disclose what I know, and then clear my self so far as the subject will bear, and my ability will extend without Rhetorical flourishes; endeavouring to bring my Matter to Words, and not Words to my Matter.

I lived (after I was burnt out of *Merchant Taylors School*) at *Islington* Twelve Years, where the Company of *Brewers* were my Patrons; who still shew'd such favour to me, as I never requested any kindness of them they ever denyed me; and even in my greatest extremity certified for me under their Hands (as shall appear afterwards;) neither even to this day, did they eject me: And the Neighbourhood, consisting mostly of Ale-men, Cow-men, or Hog-men, I believe never injur'd or defamed me, or will to this hour.

Two or Three Years after I was at *Islington* came several Persons thither and to *Clerkenwell*, who set up Schools without Licenses, and were backed by two Vicars, which was injurious to the Publick School, and directly against the Canon. I could get little or no remedy against them; the reason I shall rather think, than express. Two of these were Mr. Robert Ferguson (a Man since well known for his Treasons) and Mr. Thomas Singleton, who is there at this time. One of Ferguson's Boarders dying, I think of the Small Pox, the Vicar buried, or permitted to be buried, without a Word of the *Litwgy*, even in his Church. And to the latter of these Worthies, the other Vicar, sent his only Son to be instructed, as he himself had been at the feet of such another *Samuel*.

Notwithstanding I suffered much, Teaching the Poor Children for a very small Salary, and these two Dissenters canting the Rich to themselves. I bore all patiently: and persever'd to discharge my duty justly and honestly, and rubb'd on, doing all the good I could, but harm to no body; which has been, and is a great comfort to me; yet though I believe I can make Panegyricks upon others, I am unskill'd in making one upon my self. Therefore I desist.

The first time I saw *Titus Oates*, after he went from *Merchant-Taylor's School*, where he was my Scholar, in the year 1665, was about *Bartholomew-tide* 1676. He was brought to me by *Mr. Matthew Medburne* (who had pick'd him up in the *Earl of Suffolk's Cellar* at *Whitehall* that day they came to me) undoubtedly under a fatal Position of the Heavens. *Titus* was in his Canonical Garments: I knew him not, till he told me who he was. To the *Sun-Tavern* in *Aldersgate-street* they had me. Truly I was very melancholy, though I knew no cause for it. May be it pleas'd the Almighty Providence, in that little prelude to give me some forebodings of the miseries that were ordain'd me from this unfortunate renewing of our old acquaintance.

After this, *Matthew Medburne* introduced *Oates* into a Club that met at the *Pheasant* in *Fuller's Rents*, at that time kept by one *Mr. Mekins*, consisting of several persons, some *Roman Catholics* and some *Protestants*; where I never heard any Disputes about Religion or State Affairs, it being a particular Article of our Club, that all such Discourses should be forbidden upon the penalty of Six pence forfeit for every default of that nature by any Member of the Society.

I had almost forgotten to tell the Reader, That before *Medburne* found him at *Whitehall*, and brought him into our Society, he had been silenced by the *Arch-Deacon of Canterbury*, whom afterwards he endeavour'd to have brought into his Plot, as he will justify for me, having very hardly escaped his snares, all honest and good Men, being ever the greatest mark of his malice. Upon this silencing having lost his Vicaridge of *Bobbing* in *Kent*, (where, amongst many other notorious exclamations against him, he was remarkable for petty Thefts, his Neighbours Pigs and Hens never escaping his Rapacious Clutches) and also his Faculty from the late *Earl Marshal*, then *Earl of Norwich*, being taken from him, he began to rail against the Church of *England*; intending thereby to wind himself into the good opinion of the *Roman Catholics*, which indeed made

his

D^r Sam.
parcher

his conversation the more acceptable to *Matthew Medburne*, as being a zealous Romanist.

By this means he ingratiated himself to *Medburne*, professing himself a convert to the Church of *Rome*, and by him was, as aforesaid, introduced into our Club, his Principles and himself being wholly strangers to the rest of the company. And truly, for my part, I had that very indifferent Opinion of him, That I sometimes advised *Medburne* not to repose any confidence in him, remembering his perverse and wicked pranks, when he was a School Boy; which, indeed, was all I knew of him then: for his Suspension and Misdemeanors in *Sussex* and *Kent* were then unknown to us both.

All this while he continued in the habit of a Church of *England* Man; and coming one day to see me at *Islington*, after we had dined, we intended to go into *London* to meet *Medburne*: But in our way, passing by *Sadler's* Musick-House we met *Dr. Slater*, the Vicar of *Clerkenwell*, who complemented his seeming Brother Clergy-man very gravely, and desired him to accept of a Glass of Ale with him, upon which, growing more familiar, he desired him to give him a Sermon next *Sunday*, which *Oates* after much entreaty promised. But I took the *Dr.* aside, and besought him not to accept of it, for some private Reasons I knew, which I did not particularize to him. But he thinking it might be only an Excuse, resolved to accept *Oates's* proffer, and accordingly *Oates* preach'd; and in his Sermon speaking all along very bitterly against *Calvin*, he call'd him always *Jack*. This Sermon gave very heinous offence to Two great admirers of *Calvin*, *Mr. Barker*, and *Mr. Walsb*, then in Commission of the Peace. Who therefore sending for the *Dr.* gave him a very severe Reprimand, for suffering such a Fellow to appear in his Pulpit. The *Dr.* to excuse himself, acquainted their Worships, 'Twas I that introduced him; which story, though false, proved very prejudicial to me, these persons being my utter Enemies ever after. This Sermon, by the by, after *Oates's* Exaltation, and Renown of being a Discoverer, for the credit of the Author, was sold by him to *Mr. Sawbridge* for 40 or 50 Guineas; but answered not expectation, for no other fault but the Satyr against their darling *Calvin* in it; which indeed was no small crime in that season; and for which, had not his other Vertues atoned, might have proved very injurious, not only to his Narrative, but, also, his Reputation too, amongst his greatest Friends and supporters, the Phanaticks.

Soon after this, *Oates* cast off his Habit, and put himself into a Campagne Coat and a Sword; and being entertain'd by the Jesuites, he was by them sent into *Spain*, where they were soon weary of him, and remitted him to *England*; where applying himself again to the Jesuites, especially to Father *Whitebread* (whom afterwards he so fairly requited) by his Interest he was sent over to *St. Omers*.

From thence returning in the year 78, he sculckt about the Town in a Secular Habit, and came to visit me as formerly; being very intimate also, as before, with *Medburne*, who was instrumental in obtaining him some assistance for his relief from persons of Quality of the *Romish* Religion. This Familiarity continuing between us, one thing was remarkable, That about that time that we had an account of the Battel of *Mons*, he met *Medburne*, and Mr. *Thomas Hughes* (who is now living, and a Member of the Church of *England*, and ready to attest it) and complaining of his extreme necessity, he told them, He had not eaten a bit of Bread in Three Days; upon which, they carryed him into the *Cock* in the *Hay-market*, and made him Eat and Drink, giving him also some Money, notwithstanding this was the very time, when in his Discovery after he was in the height of his pretended Plot, and daily interested and engaged with so many persons of such great Quality to carry on the Cause of *Rome*.

From the middle of *July* till the latter end of *August* I saw him not, and the first week of *September* *Medburne* and *John Philips* brought him to me at *Islington*: we went to the *Catherine-Wheel*, where we drank a Bottle or two of *Claret*, and my Boy brought me some new Acts of Parliament, then newly publish'd. Upon reading of them there happned a very great Debate between *Medburne* and *Titus Oates*, concerning the Three Estates; *Titus* affirming, the King to be one of the Three Estates, and answerable to the other Two which he called the Lords and Commons. *Medburne* contradicted him, and told him he lied; insomuch that they grew to very hard words; *Philips* justifying *Oates*, and I *Medburne*: I showing my reason in the preamble of one of the Acts, wherein 'twas exprest; Be it Enacted by the Kings most Excellent Majesty, with the Consent and Advice of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons Assembled in Parliament, &c. urging, That if the King had been One of the Three Estates it would have run thus, Enacted by the King, Lords and Commons, &c. Here tis observable

George
to Edward
Lips 11
6-6-11
Negotiating
of
Jo. Milton

ble, The very time when *Oates* was just upon Discovering a Plot in Zeal for the Preservation of His Majesties Life, he was nevertheless talking Treason against his Prerogative.

In some few days after this, he came to me again in the Evening, and desired me, with all intreaties imaginable, to write him a Paper of Verses, in *Latin*, upon our Blessed Saviour and the Virgin *Mary*, which he intended, as he said, to carry to the Jesuites as his own, to demonstrate his Learning, and try if thereby they would re-entertain him, or get him into some Catholick Family, where he might teach some Children, he being then totally destitute of any livelihood. The Verses I made for him, and he fetch'd them the next morning, forcing upon me, as a gift, a pair of Tweezers, which he said he brought out of *Flanders*. He particularly desired me, in the afore-named Verses, to make a long harangue in the praise of the Virgin *Mary*, pretending it would very much please the Jesuites. But truly I thought not fit to do so, and omitted it.

The next, and last time he came to me was on a *Saturday*, some few days after in *September*: on a *Saturday* which happen'd to be the day before the great noise of the Popish Plot broke out; and I invited him to the *Katherine-Wheel*, where he pull'd out a handful of money, which seem'd to be about 30 or 40 shillings, offering me the acceptance of it, in return of the many Reckonings I had paid for him, and the Treats I had made him; but I refused it. Then he ask'd me if I had heard any thing of a Plot: I told him, No: upon which, he said, There had been great complaints at *Whitehall* about a Plot of the Jesuites, against the King. He promised to come and Dine with me next day, but I saw him no more till the First day of *November*, when he appear'd at the Lords Bar, and swore falsely against me. The reason why I mention these two passages is this: He told me, after I was got into his favour, That he came both those times to me to trapan me. This I avoided by the great mercy of God, not my own Prudence, I being always too credulous and easie to be imposed upon; never laying Snares for any Man, and thinking no body would lay any for me. If I had writ what he desired me of the Blessed Virgin, he had made me under my own hand a Papist. If I had taken his money he had swore me into his Plot; yet I was brought into the *Bryars* for all this.

Oates in the interim had given into the Council, Depositions of his Plot, wherein he gave in my Name for meeting at a Club

a Club in *Fuller's Rents*. Hereupon the Lord Bishop of London sent for me to the Vestry in *Islington Church*. His Lordship ask'd me, How I happn'd to be concern'd in such a Club. I replied, I never had any ill intent in going thither, neither ever saw, or heard any bad Action or Discourse in the Company; one reason that caused me to be there now and then, was this; The person that kept the House was a Gentleman fallen to decay; having many Children: This being his last shift, I conceiv'd it to be a sort of Charity, when I could spare a six pence to spend it with him, rather than another; especially having the Society of ingenuous Men. His Children likewise I taught, and was not paid, nor ever expected I should: Nor am I to this day. His Lordship seemed to be satisfied. It was then urged against me, by a Doctor there present, That I kept company with one *Medburne* a Player, who was a rank Papist; intimating thence, that I must be so too; and blundering out the old bald Verse, *Noscitur a Socio qui non dignoscitur a se*: I replied, I reckoned it no crime to keep company with a Man, to whom I had seen the greatest Men in the Kingdom speak kindly; and amongst others his Lordships Brother, the Earl of *Northampton*; but if that matter gave offence, I would forbear his company. His Lordship ask'd me, If I Catechized the Children: I assured his Lordship, That I had not one in the School but had his Catechism as perfect as *A, b, c*; yet those two Doctors, my Neighbours, had never Catechized since I came thither, which was then Twelve Years. His Lordship was displeased at it; however all things were patch'd up for that time.

About that time Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey* was found dead in a Ditch, near *Prinrose Hill*, and the main cry was, That the Papists had murder'd him. This business happen'd well for *Oates*, as he afterwards often told me: He would usually say, *I believe not a Word on't; but my Plot had come to nothing without it; It made well for me; I believe the Council would never have taken any farther notice of me else, if he had not been found: He was a Cowardly Rascal, for when I went with my Depositions to him, he was so frighted, that I believe he besot himself; for there was such a stink I could hardly stay in the Room.* This Character he would frequently give of that their pretended Protomartyr to Popery; and the very person, whose misfortune, even by his own confession, was the very support of his Pocket.

Notwithstanding

Notwithstanding this made well for *Otes*, and his future Colleague, *Bedloe*, it turn'd to a scurvy account for many honest Men, and put the unthinking Rabble into such a rage, that most of Mankind, except *Phanaticks*, were accounted *Papists*; of which number, I was soon adopted a Member. And a certain Worthy and Learned Vicar sent up and down his Parish for Witnesses, to make out I was such, or something worse: At length, he found Two Men, as honest as himself, to swear a blind sort of Treason against me; The One formerly a Gold-finder, and one of *Cromwel's* Jannizaries; the Other a Miscreant, that has scarce been in a Church since he was Christen'd. These Hell-hounds, accompanied with the Noble Vicar, took their way into *Aldersgate-Street*, and proffer'd to swear against me before the Lord Bishop of *London*; who generously did refuse to meddle in the Affair. Thus repulsed, they applied themselves, in all Humility, to *Otes*, the *Saviour of the Nation*, (whom the Vicar had accustomed to mention kindly in a long, swinging thing, he calls a Prayer) and, after Three low Reverences, unfolded their Supplications to him in words to this Effect: "That *William Smith*, the School-Master of *Islington*, had spoken Treason against his Majesty, that they were ready to aver it: But, he being a Person of greater Authority, it would be much better for him to swear, than for them. (This I had from *Otes's* own Mouth.) *Otes* readily accepted the Offer; though he knew no more than the Man in the Moon, any thing of the matter, but what they told him. Now, --- *Actum est de vitâ & sanguine Turni*. *Otes* with great diligence procures a Warrant from some Peers, (whose Names I forbear) to Apprehend me, and bring me before the *House of Lords*. This Warrant and Work was recommended to one *Sarracoal*, a flagitious and profligate Rascal: He, with about twenty Villains of his own Gang, (who, I believe, would have murder'd me, had it not been for thirty Souldiers, which, with an Officer of the Guards, attended them) came about One of the Clock in the Night, and, without knocking, broke open my outward Door, the other being open to them. They rifled my House, frighted a Child of about Five Years I had, that he dyed soon after. I was carried by these Persons into *Black-Spread-Eagle-Court* in the *Strand*, over against *Somerset-House*, to one Mr. *Tomson's*. This House the Varlet *Sarracoal* had seized upon, and converted into a kind of Goal. There was I confin'd in a little Room, in which, I believe, Forty or Fifty smoaked; and, though I smoak't my self, I was almost smother'd. Before Morning, *Sarracoal*

racoal brought in several Persons more : And in the Morning, this impudent Fellow march't us one by one, between two Musqueteers, to *Westminster* ; and into the Painted - Chamber he brought us ; where we were placed upon the Forms, and made a publick Spectacle.

Now a Porter with a Note in his Hand, would have been enough to have commanded me before the *House of Lords* : But the Children of *Edom*, who managed such like Designs in those Days of Wickedness, knew very well, that their Conspiracy would soon fall to the Ground, unless kept up by needless Noise, Clamours, Tumults, Fears, Jealousies, Shamms, and abominable Lies.

After about an Hour's space, we were all brought into the *House of Lords* by Sir George Charnock, then the Serjeant at Arms attending the *House*. After we had kneeled sometime, the Lord Chancellor bade us rise : And in comes *Otes* very gravely, habited in his Canonical Vestments. He having sworn very profoundly against two or three, my Turn came. The Lord Chancellor ask't him, What he had to say against me ? *Otes* pretended much Modesty, replying, *He was ashamed to declare the Words I had spoken of the King*. After a seeming reluctancy, he swore, *That I, in Company, refusing to drink the King's Health, wished the King's B----- in a cleft Stick*. His Majesty was then present sitting amongst the Barons, near the Barr : And being pleased to smile at this ridiculous Story, I could hear him say, *I believe, he would drink my Health*. I humbly requested the Chancellor, that I might speak. His Lordship told me, I might speak what I would. I then besought his Lordship, to ask *Otes*, Where and when I spake these Words, and if he heard me ? My Lord reminding him, that he was upon his Oath, exactly put these Three Questions to him. To the *First*, *Otes* answer'd, He knew not where the Words were spoken : To the *Second*, He believed, it was some Years ago. To the *Third*, That he did not hear me speak them, but he could produce those that did hear me. After Leave to speak, I said thus to the Lords : *My Lords, I am very certain, I never spake any such Words in all my Life ; for never any such wicked Thought enter'd into my Heart : And if I mistrusted, that my Tongue did, or ever would utter such vile Words concerning my King, I would my self here cut it out, and cast it down at your Lordship's Barr : And as to the King's Health, I am sure, I never deny'd it*. I then made my humble Request to my Lord Chancellor, to ask *Otes*, If I was in the Plot, or a Papist ? *Otes* answer'd to both in the Negative.

Then

Then he proceeded to swear against one Mr. Preston; declaring he was a *Romish Priest*, and his Confessor. This Mr. Preston was known to be so deaf, that he could scarce hear, when he was whoop't and hollow'd to; so that Otes and his Confessor must have chose *Salisbury-Plain* for their Chappel, unless they had a mind all People should hear them: Yet Mr. Preston upon this Oath lay in *Newgate* two or three Years. Well, we were order'd all to withdraw, and re-placed upon the Benches, in the Painted-Chamber, in worse condition than before; for now we had a Souldier planted betwixt each of us. In an hour's time, the Lords Adjourned till Four in the Afternoon; and Sir Edward *Carteret*, the Black Rod, came to us with a Paper in his Hand, importing our Doom: Some were order'd to the *Gate-house*; some to *Newgate*; some discharg'd: I was left among the Souldiers, whom the Black Rod discharged; telling me, I was his Prisoner. He recommended me to one *Button*, a Messenger, and charged him to treat me civilly; which truly he did. This was on *Fryday* the First Day of *November*, 1678. And notwithstanding Mr. *Latimer*, and Mr. *Hughes* (whom with Gratitude I here mention) proffer'd to be bound Body for Body in my behalf, I was kept in Custody; so strong was the Ferment of that Season. In the Afternoon, Dr. *Dean*, and Mr. *Wells* a Minister, visited me; and next Morning, Mr. *Gadbury* and Major *Fisher* came to me: And these were all the Friends I saw in this unhappy Juncture.

All things were in a most violent hurry; and I was in such a great Consternation, that I knew not which way to turn my self, or what to do. Between Seven and Eight at Night, our came my Lord *Shaftsbury*, in a great Cloak, to warm himself at a Fire in the with-drawing *Green-Lobby*: By the Messenger's Perswasion, I followed him. I told his Lordship, I was clearly Innocent of what Otes had sworn against me in the Morning; and I hop'd, his Lordship, out of Pity and Commiseration, would stand my Friend. He told me, He would not speak for any one, nor be a Friend to any one, that spoke against the King. I replyed, His Lordship was too Wise, to believe all Reports to be true. No, (says he) I believe not all Reports to be true; and I think, what was spoke of thee in the Morning, was an idle Story: But I have this Afternoon an Account of thee from Dr. *Tonge* and Mr. *Ferguson*, Men that know thee, as well as thou knowest thy self, which will prove of dangerous Consequence to thee. I desired his Lordship to let me know, what dangerous things they had inform'd against me? He told me, I had made a Practice of talking for,

for Gadbury
the Almshouse
each makes
a maj. pay
Fisher, a
poor soul.

and defending the Church of Rome, in every Place where I came, which was Treason. I humbly did beseech him again, to stand my Friend. He reply'd; If thy Friends can get thee out of these Bryars, Wilt thou be an honest Man? I told him, Yes, I would to my Power. I then told him again, I could justify my self against that which Otes had sworn. But, (says he) if thou goest about to justify thy self, thou'lt be utterly lost; for thy Friends had very much ado to keep the House from sending for those Two Persons Otes mention'd: Petition therefore the Lords, to be discharg'd. And so he left me, promising he would assist me the best he could; which I believe, he did. I shall make a short Observation upon this Dialogue.

I had not, to my Knowledge, ever before that Day seen Tonge; and with Ferguson I had never been in Company, save once; and I'm sure, we talk't nothing of the Church of Rome: So that, I believe, these Men were then as busie to bring People into the Plot, as Otes; and doubtless, were as deeply concern'd. It may be consider'd likewise, that I then was intended for the future Work, because I was to be, in his Lordship's Sense, an *Honest Man*; A term of Art I have had cause to understand the meaning of very well, since. Thus, instead of getting out of the Bryars, I got much faster in.

I had not stay'd so long, as the Reading this Digression, in the Lobby, but a Prelate repair'd thither to warm himself, as I imagine: I made my Address, as well as I could, to him for his Help and Assistance: It seems, Dr. Tonge was this Prelate's great Confident; which, I presume, made me fare the worse. The Prelate told me plainly; That I, having kept company with so many Papists, and perhaps one my self, must needs either be in the Plot, or know something of it; and that it would be best for me to deal freely with the Lords, they having been so kind to me, as not to commit me to Prison; I might imagine, they meant not to ruin me, but only to make me an *Honest Man*. I protested, by all that is Sacred, I knew nothing of any Plot. Here I cannot but remark, that this Prelate was much severer than the Lord Shaftsbury; for now I was a Papist, and a Plotter; notwithstanding the very Oracle, Titus himself, had upon Oath clear'd me from being either of them, and that but just before, in his Lordship's Hearing.

This Good Man had certainly read all the Major and Minor Prophets, together with the Book of Revelations, with incomparable Judgment, and singular Advantage to himself, else he could never have known more of me, than I knew of my self; and that I must be undone, before I could be made an *Honest Man*.

This

This was a sharp use of an Evening Consolation, and more severe than *Gees's* Morning-Lecture.

Saturday came, and I Petition'd the *House* to be discharged; my Petition was read, an Order being made to this effect; That my License for teaching School was to be taken from me, and that I was to give an Account of what I could, that might deserve the Favour of the *House*.

In the mean time, my old Friend, the Vicar afore-mentioned, was not idle; he being all this while as strenuous and sedulous to take away my Livelihood, as others were to take away my Life: He, I say, together with a broken Brewer, introduced one *Clutterbuck* (a Parson's Son) into my House and Employment, without any Order from the Company of *Brewers*, who are the Patrons; they being of a different Opinion, as this following Certificate, given at that time, will evince:

we the Master, Wardens and Assistants of the Company of Brewers, London, Governors of the Lady Owen's Free-School at Kingston, whereof William Smith, Master of Arts, hath been for Thoebe years School-Master, who now is suspended from his said Employment; Do, on the behalf of the said William Smith, humbly Certify, That he was an Industrious and Careful Person in his Place; and is a very Loyal Subject to his Sacred Majesty and Government, for any thing we know to the contrary.

James Reading, Master.	Ralph Bayes,	Assistants.
Joseph Lawrence,	Richard Hammond,	
Thomas Morton,	Jo. Raymond,	
William Courtis,	David Knight,	

Now the Vicar had achieved his Design; namely, he had got me fast enough, and almost in as ready a Road to the Gallows, as Mr. *Staley*: He had put the afore-said *Clutterbuck* into my Place; yet he ceased not to persecute me still: Trudging to *Brewer's-Hall* to say Grace, and replenish his Gutts, he there

most fallly bespatter'd me in a Rustian-Harangue after Dinner; having not leisure, I suppose, till he had fill'd his Belly, to rail against, and abuse the Innocent. Yet observe what came of all this: Clutterbuck has since spent his Patrimony, which was considerable, and ruin'd, by his illiterature and negligence, the School, with his own Reputation; and even shewn in the face of his Promoter and Patron, the Vicar.

On Saturday in the Afternoon, I was Examind by a certain Person. He perswaded me, That I was one of the *Black-Bill-Men*, or one of the *Dagger-Men* of *Drury-Lane*. This struck me into a profound Amazement; I not having heard of any such kind of Creature, till that very minute. But how unknown soever those dreadful Names might be to myself, certainly the Apparition must be not a little terrible, which even Gravity, Learning, and Wisdom was so apprehensive of. However, all I could offer to clear my self from being either of the fore-mention'd dangerous Things, or any other sort of guilty Person, it all avail'd me little. For now I was not only a *Papist*, but a *Plotter*, and a small Officer into the Bargain. Really, I then believed my self gone. In the Interim, such speedy Care was taken to send the Lord's Order to Doctor's-Commons, as that Night, by the Exemplary Vigilance of Sir Thomas Exton, and his careful Register, Newcourt, I received a Command, To deliver my License (which I had bought and paid for) to the Messenger, and not to teach School in the Diocess, or any where else.

My License thus taken from me, it was impossible that I, under my Circumstances, should ever be so constrained, as to teach without One; as some others did then, and do so to this Day: Therefore I was, if not in Duty, yet in fear of the Statute, obliged to desist; otherwise I might have proceeded in my School, for the Governours thereof never discharged me.

Here 'tis observable, that my whole Livelihood, and all I had in the World being thus taken from me, and that upon no other ground, than either the fore-mentioned unintelligible Treason, I swore to by Otes, without either the *How*, *When*, and *Where* to it; or else, for my being suspected one of the above-named *Dagger*, or *Black-Bill-Men*: either of these Chymara's having Influence enough

enough to undo me: Here was Ruin and Poverty laid on my back; but Two necessary Preparatives, to make me embrace that *Honesty*, that was so requisite to give my Lord Shaftsbury Satisfaction. A Blow of this kind being but too apt to make Men malleable to Purposes and Impressions, not so easily taken and received in Prosperity.

On Monday-Night following, the Lords discharged me; and in their very Order, as will appear by the *Journal of the House of Lords*, they express'd me a *Protestant*. Yet see, the Caprice of Fortune, and what Fatality attends the Unhappiness of some Men! By this most Just and Generous Acquittal of their *Lordships*, from the Imputation of *Papery*, and the Dangers thereunto belonging, I was re-instated into my former Innocence. Nevertheless, though by this Re-instatement, all my Dagging, Black-Billing, Treasoning, and Plotting, wholly disappeared, yet the Guilt vanish'd, but the Punishment remain'd: For my License, and my School, were never restor'd me again, though the Phantom that took them from me, was dissolved into Air.

Soon after this, *Otes* spoke to Major *Fisher*, to find me out, and bring me to him, which the Major promised him to do; for indeed, the Major then lodg'd in the same House with me, though he did not tell *Otes* so, as suspecting it might be to my prejudice; because *Otes* threatened, it should be the worse for me, if I came not. Considering this Menace, I attended my Lord Bishop of London, and pray'd his Advice, who counsell'd me to go to *Otes*, but to be cautious of what I said, and likewise, to have a Friend with me, to be Witness (if occasion requir'd) of what pass'd between us; and also, to attend his Lordship again, to give him an account of the Particulars; All which I perform'd; Mr. Thomas Hughes (before mentioned in this Discourse) being the Friend I made choice of to go along with me.

We came to White-hall, and were permitted to speak with *Otes*; whom we found in his Chamber, and Mr. Thomas Smith, a Counsellor of the Temple, with him. After we had talk'd of some indifferent Things, *Otes* ask'd me, What I knew of Matthew Medburne? (who was then in Prison, and whom he had prefer'd to

be a Captain.) To which I answer'd, I knew no ill of him, Then he question'd me, If I had never heard him cry up the French King, and disparage and speak ill of the King of England? I reply'd; That truly I heard him often applaud and extol the French King; but I never heard him speak an ill Word against our King; but on the contrary, defend him to his Power against others, that spoke reflectingly of him.

Then Counsellor Smith began to speak; and, in a long Harangue, told me to this effect: That he believed, I was an Honest Man, and that I would do what Service I could to my King and Country, as became a Good Man, and Loyal Subject: And therefore, since it had pleas'd God to make Discovery of this Hellish Design and Conspiracy, if I had heard or known any thing done or said tending thereunto, I ought to disclose it. And therefore, he press'd me very earnestly, to be frank with the Doctor, in my Knowledge and Conversation with Medburnet and in the Questions made me by the Doctor, concerning him. But to all this I still positively Answer'd him, That I neither knew any thing at all of a Plot, or any thing against Medburnet. Then Otes desir'd me to step in with him into his Closet; where he privately told me, That if I would appear against Medburnet, he could procure an Order from the King to the Brewers, to re-instate me in my School; which he promis'd to perform, upon the Condition afore-said. The Answer I made him, to excuse my self, was, That the School would be little worth to me now, under my present Aspersions and Circumstances. Upon this, he offer'd me his Power and Interest, in promising me any thing else I could find convenient; with reiterated Protestations of serving me, and Intreaties to accuse Medburnet. All this I refused, with a Compliment, That I would consider of it: Upon which we return'd into the Chamber, to our Company again: And soon after, parted friendly.

This Interview was about Christmas, in the Year 1678. After which time I saw Otes no more, till June 1679. though he desired Major Fisher, who sometimes visited him, to tell me, He would have me call upon him: And the Reason why I was but a little while troubled with that Importunity from him, was, That Mr. Medburnet soon after died in Newgate.

How-

However I cannot omit one divertive story that intervened: *Oates* being exalted with his high Dignities and Great Name of, *The Saviour of the Nation*, wanted to know his Coat of Arms; and Major *Fisber* sometimes waiting on him, and being also skill'd in Herauldry, the Doctor communicated himself to the Major for his assistance herein. The Major, to favour so comical a Request of the Doctor, consulted with Mr. *Wright* and Mr. *Blackamore*, two Herauld-Painters, who readily embraced the search into Records for the Honourable Original of so Illustrious a Personage as *Titus the Famous*; but after diligent and tedious Inquiry, it so fell out that *Titus Oates* was either the First Hero of his Family, or the Heraulds had been unkind in not transmitting his Name and Arms to posterity, for neither could be found. Our Discoverer, it seems, being like the Champion mentioned by *Silius Italicus*,

*Ast illi sine Luce Genus, surdumque Parentum
Nomen. — —*

These men being unwilling nevertheless to defeat the Doctor's Honourable expectations, or that the Major should lose his Reward expected for this eminent piece of service to him, found out a Coat which they believed no body now could claim, viz a *Chevron between three Crosses Croiset Fitchee*. Being the Atchievement of Sir *Otes Swinsford*, Husband to the Lady *Katherine Swinsford*, afterwards married to *John of Gaunt*, Duke of *Lancaster*. This the Doctor believed, and joyfully received, and most Triumphantly Engraved it on all his Plate, and in a large Seal Ring, requiting the Major with 20 s. but into the Bargain obliged him to bring him his Pedegree, all which he would pay for; but that being as hard to be produced as one of his own Commissions, the Major's non-performance quite lost the Doctor's favour.

But to return to our purpose. In May 1679. the Parliament then sitting at *Westminster*, I met one Mr. *Barrow*, since Prebendary of *Windfor*; we went into a House to drink together; after some common discourse, he began to tell me a long story, how the *Saturday* last he had met the Bishop of *Chester's* Chaplain, who enquired of him concerning me: I asking him for what, and also telling him I knew not the man; He

made answer, That the Parliament being going to try the Lords in the *Tower*, I was wanted to prove *Oates's* being in Town, for which end he told me the Chaplain had sent for him to enquire me out. I was very much surprized at this, and reminding him of the great Troubles I had lately been in, which he very well knew, I desired to be excused from any such thing, as being mighty unwilling to be brought upon the Stage again. I confest indeed I very well remembered he had been with me several Times that last Summer, as indeed he had; but however I besought him not to desire any such thing of me, expressing my great aversion thereunto; but he urged the great service I should do to the publick, and told me, I should be highly gratified by the Parliament: Nevertheless I persisted in my Denial, continuing to express several reasons for my dislike in doing any such thing; till at last he plainly told me he had order to bring me, and that if I would not go, he would send for a Constable, and I should not stir from thence till he had sent the Parliament word of me; in which finding him in earnest, rather than be so compell'd, I thought it better to go quietly along with him; and to *Westminster* we went, and coming to the House of Lords, we sent in to the Bishop of *Chester*, but he being that day ill of the Gout, and not there, we sent in to the Bishop of *London*, who was pleased to come forth to us: we signified to his Lordship the intention of our coming, who was pleased to say, I did ill I had not told him of this thing before; to which I replied, I did not know there was any occasion for my testifying any such thing: My Lord was pleased to say, I had done well if I had come sooner, there being testimony wanting in that point; but now the Papers concerning the Popish Plot being this morning carried down to the House of Commons, the Lords would say nothing to me; we then desired his Lordship to instruct us what we should do, who order'd us to go to the House of Commons, and send in a Note to Sir *Thomas Meers*, letting him know we came from his Lordship. But before we went, his Lordship gave me caution that I did nothing but what was just and honest, and that I should no ways wrong my Conscience. Accordingly we went, and coming into the Lobby, where the Crowd was great, after the Note was sent in, I lost Mr. *Barrow*, whom I then saw no more, but Sir *Thomas Meers* came out to me: I acquainted-

quainting him with the business, he required me to stay in that place till he went back into the House, which he thought would soon adjourn, and return'd to me. I staid a little while, and the House adjourning, he came to me again, and told me I must go to the Secret Committee in *Lincolns-Inn-Fields*, at Serjeant *Maynard's* House, about six a Clock at night, and in his Name enquire for Sir *Thomas Lee*: But, says he, I shall see him before then, and prepare him to send for you in presently, when you come thither.

At six I went, where I found the Committee sitting, where meeting Mr. *Banister* of *Grays-Inn*, who was order'd to be their Door-keeper; as a confiding man, and signifying my desire of speaking with Sir *Thomas Lee*, he went in, and Sir *Thomas* immediately came out, and told me I should be presently call'd in, which was done, and the door very carefully shut after me with two Locks; as I remember: Sir *Thomas Lee* sat at the upper end of the Table, I suppose as Chairman, who made an Harangue, much such another as Councillor *Smith* had done before, expressing the great Deliverance this Kingdom had received from the late Discovery, and how it was every mans duty to do all that lay in his power to be instrumental in serving the Nation and the Protestant Religion, &c. He required me to inform him what time *Oates* was with me the Summer before; I answered, several times about *Midsummer* and after, to the best of my Remembrance. Another of the Committee ask'd me if I did not see him in *April*, or the beginning of *May*; I told him I could not remember certainly: But they all prest upon me that it must be in *April* or *May*; promising me, that if I would tell the Truth, they would endeavour with the King and House of Lords, to have me restored to the place I lost, or a better; urging withal, That if I would not tell the Truth, things would be worse with me, and much more to that threatening purpose. I being apprehensive of danger, and having already suffer'd too much, considering too I was not upon my Oath, I ventured to say that truly I thought it might be about *May*; which Sir *Thomas Lee* wrote down, and afterwards required me to subscribe to; which I not suspecting they would ever demand of me, was surprized into, and durst not deny them. They enquired likewise where I lodged, and to find me again wrote down that too, which
I durst

I durst not deny likewise; fearing to be laid by the heels upon refusal. Then they all said we are now ready, and will acquaint the House to morrow morning; and something else they said they would do with the House of Lords, which I cannot particularly remember. VVhen they had put down the place I lodged at, one of them stood up and said, *We shall have all the Rogues out of every hole and corner by degrees*; which not a little troubled me (though now too late) to think how they had drawn me in, and before I went out of the Room with what a course appellation they treated the tool they had made. However at parting they returned me thanks, and promis'd me also the whole House of Commons would thank me too, and so with much Civility, and many good words, dismiss me.

But the Commons soon afterwards falling upon the Succession, the Parliament was Dissolved in some few days after. Upon which I heard no more of this business, and indeed expected to hear no more on't. But in *June* I coming late home one night, found a *Subpana* for me to appear at the *Old-Baily* by 8 a clock next morning; the *Subpana* imported a Cause depending between the King and *Thomas Whitebread*, whom I do declare in the presence of God, I did not then know what or who he was, for tho' all the Town at that time was full of no other discourse than of the *Jesuites in Newgate*, and other *Popish Criminals*; yet their Names I never troubled my self to enquire into, being then very melancholy under my long Adversity, and scarce daring to shew my head abroad. Now to shew the oddness of the circumstances that surprized me in this thing, I was found out at my Lodgings by the Paper Sir *Thomas Lee* had made me sign. Neither should they have done this, had I had the least suspicion that I should have been Subpoena'd in this cause; for when I appear'd before the Committee, their pretensions were wholly of using me in the Tryal of the Lords, which the Parliaments Dissolution made me conclude was now over, and therefore not in the least imagining I should have been call'd upon in this Case at the *Old-Baily*, I had not provided me any other Lodgings, or sought any concealment or preventions against it.

To the *Old-Baily* accordingly in the morning I went, and coming to the door, I spoke to an Officer, and show'd him my *Subpana*, not then knowing what I was summon'd thither for,
by

by reason I came home late the night before, and this was the first enquiry I made, for the Fellow that brought the *Subpena* staying till 11 a clock at night for me at my Lodgings, and not finding me come in, left it with strict orders with my Landlord to deliver it me; and being asked what it concerned, he would give him no account of that, but in general terms told him it was business of great consequence, and so repeated his strict charge of not failing the Delivery of it, and sending me next morning accordingly; The Officer made me no other answer, than that I must go to the *Fountain Tavern* at *Snow-hill*; where coming, I found the two *Oates's*, Father and Son, (that being the first time that I had ever seen the Father) together with Councillour *Smith*, and many other persons, strangers to me. This likewise was the first time (as before-mentioned) that I had seen *Oates* from about *Christmas* before. After a Glass or two of *VVine* drank to me, and some other usual Civilities past, the two *Oates* and Councillour *Smith* retired, and in some minutes after sent a Messenger to tell me there was one would speak with me in another room; whereupon I went out, and found it was they: They had likewise a Bottle of *VVine* there, and after some further Civilities, Councillour *Smith* began to speak much to the purpose he had done at *White-hall*, which for brevity I pass by. But at length they came to insist upon my Testimony for *Oates* his being in Town in the month of *May* before-mentioned, which I endeavouring to evade, they answered, I had confest it to the Committee, and subscribed my Hand to it, which they said they had ready to produce against me, if I retracted from it, and refused to do him Justice, and own the Truth (for Justice and Truth were then words of course with him) till, in fine, they plainly told me, This I must averr, or there was a Jayl ready hard by to receive me; which truly would have been soon done, for the Court was then sitting, and undoubtedly that accursed and unlucky Paper, with the strength of *Oates* his credit and sway at that time of day, would have laid a bigger man than my self by the heels. Reflecting upon the impending Danger, and withal my own already too ruinous condition, I being then under that extreme poverty that I had long lain in a Lodging of but 13 *d.* a week, and was reduced to the most pressing want; and more than all this, having been lately informed of the dismal effects of *Newgate*, of those great numbers of *Preists* and other Prisoners on the Popish Account, that daily died through the unhealthiness of the place, occasioned by the infinite swarms there: My own Poverty, and the imminent Danger of my Life, not only this way, but also by

some of the old Stories formerly charg'd upon me at the House of Lords, which might still have been revived, with other Additions that the malice of *Oates* and his great Abettors, upon that refusal, through the prevailing VVickedness of those times might have rais'd against me. All this, I say, together with my own want of Money, Advice, or Friends at that time, and indeed not leisure enough thoroughly to consider the fatal consequences, the Tryal then halting on, my own VVeakness at last forced me to comply, whilst my Apprehensions, Surprize, and Fears overpowred my vanquish'd Reason, and hush'd all other sentiments.

Thus was I unfortunately ensnared by a continual Chain of cross contingencies, together with an Humane Frailty which some time or other attends all mankind. Yet truly, that the VVorld may not lie in a mistaken Opinion, I profess before God, Men and Angels, that I neither had any malice against any of the persons then impeach'd, whom till then I had never seen; nor did I comply through any prospect of Reward, or Mercenary end whatever, having never had so much as one farthing from that day to this, no not so much as one shilling at the delivery of the *Subpœna*.

The rest of the Summer I was very quiet, being very kindly treated by *Oates* whenever I came to visit him. And after *Michaelmas* following *Dangerfield* sets up his Plot; which when I heard of, in Curiosity I went the next morning to *Oates* to hear his opinion of it; he was in his Chamber, and when I had stay'd some small time with him, in came Sir *Will. Waller*, Coll. *Mansell*, *Peter Gill*, Mr. *Chetwyn*, and *Tho. Merry*, vvith some others. *Waller* had a very great bundle of Papers vvhich he pulled out from under his Coat, they having that night search'd Mrs. *Celliers* House, and brought these from thence: *Oates* then ask'd Sir *William* how matters vvent, Sir *William* made a discourse of half an hour long; as much of which, as I remember, was to this purpose: VVe, says he, have searcht *Celliers* house from top to bottom, with all the care and diligence that men could use, and we thought vve might have found some Priests or Jesuites, or such ill persons, or else some Treasonable Papers, but vve found none, and so vve vvent out of the House; but when we vv ere in the street, in Troth Doctor *I* had an impulse upon my Spirits to go back and search again; so vve re-entred, and *I* remembering a Meal-Tub vvhich *I* had seen before there, but had not search'd; *I* examin'd that, and under some Flovver at the bottom of it, *I* found all these Papers. Likevvise aftervvards *I* found some Papers, but of no great consequence behind a Pevvter Dish in the Kitchen: Says *Oates*

to this, VVhat are those Papers, vvhat is there in them? Quoth Sir *William*, the Papists have throwvn a Plot upon us; They have made the Duke of *Monmouth* a General, and my Lord *Macklesfield* a Lieutenant General, and a great many other Officers (vvhich Sir *William* named, but *I* forgot) but Sir *William* proceeded, nay, they have done me the honour to make me a Collonel. From thence they vvent to the Council vvith the Papers, and only *Oates* and *I* vvere left behind; and no sooner vvere their Backs turn'd, but says *Oates*; *By the Lord they have put these Papers into the Meal-Tub themselves, and found them when they have done.* And truly taking the circumstances all together, and Sir *Williams* True Protestant impulse for the safety of the Nation that made him return again into the House after so through a search before; *Oates's* plain dealing in this matter, look'd vvith a shrevvd suspicious face of Truth and Reason.

But having mention'd Sir *William*, I cannot omit another prank of his, vvhich vvvas his producing of *Pickerings* Gun: He and his gang got a Gun of a confiding Brother, a Gunsmith in the *Minories*, vvhich cost them a considerable sum of Money. After this purchase, Sir *William*, vvith the aforementioned gang, pretended to make a search into *Pickerings* House in the *Savoy*; and in this sham search they convey'd the Gun into the House, and amongst a parcel of Feather-beds, vvhich vvith other goods lay in a confused heap, they open'd the Seam in one of the Beds, and clapt in the Gun, and sovvd up the Seam again; and next night making a nev v search, upon pretence of some second impulse of Sir *Williams*, that he had not search'd narrowvly enough before, they found the Gun vvhere they had left it; and tho this King killing Trophy vvvas undiscover'd till this second search, yet a more harmless and softer Metal in the same room, viz. 3 or 400 *l.* in old Gold and Silver, did not scape him at first search; vvith the fore-mention'd Trophy, thus heroically gain'd, these True Protestant Champions march'd in great Triumph to the King and Council, where Sir *William* upon his Knees made a present of it to his Majesty, vvho commending it for a very pretty Gun, made a present of it back again to Sir *William*. But that Sir *William* brought the Money to his Majesty as well as the *Popish* Gun, Historians make no question.

I cannot pass by one more of Sir *Williams* Adventures; amongst the many Apparitions of Popery, visible only to True Protestant eyes, there happened an information of a Lady Abbess and a House of Nuns at *Hammer-smith*; this vvvas about *March* 1680. Sir *William* pro-

cured a VVarrant from the Council to search this *Popish* Seminary ; vvhich vvvas accordingly done, *Oates* himself going along vvith him; and to make the greater bustle in so doughty an undertaking, they put the whole Tovvn of *Hammer-smith* into an uproar, and then most manfully broke open the doors, where they found an old Gentlewoman, with 3 or 4 little Girls which she taught Needlework ; and to make out this formidable Discovery they found out a Discipline, which they had formerly taken amongst the spoils of some *Popish* Houses : and which *Oates* had a long time before carried in his pocket. VVith this infallible demonstration of a Monastery they returned : VVhich Relique *Oates* kept afterwards in his pocket still, and I have seen him flaug his menial Ganymedes with it.

But to return to *Titus* again. His great and stupendious Fortune brought his Mother up to Town from *Hastings* in *Suffex*, where she was a Midwife, to see her Son; which was a little before *Christmas* in 79, who lay with her Husband at his Lodgings in *Tork* Buildings, where one day I happen'd to dine with them. Some time after dinner the old man went out, and left only me and the old woman together ; I staying indeed the longer for a Friend, whom I had order'd to call upon me there. The old woman, (much unlike her Husband and Son) was look'd upon by all that knew her to be a very Pious and Vertuous woman in her way, and at this time treated me very kindly ; where discoursing with me, she said thus : *Mr. Smith, you have known my Son Titus a great while, pray what do you think of him, and this business ;* (meaning the Plot) to which I answer'd, *Very well ;* not thinking fit to tell her my real sentiments : The old woman shaking her head, replied, *Indeed I do not like it well. Pray God bless him. You know, Mr. Smith, I have had a great many Children, and by my profession I have skill in Womens concerns. But I believe never woman went such a time with a Child as I did with him. I could seldom or never sleep when I went with him, and when I did sleep I always dreamt I was with Child of the Devil. But when I came to my Travail, I had such hard Labour that I believe no woman ever had ; it was ten to one but it had kill'd me : I was never so of any of my other Children. Then when he grew up I thought he would have been a Natural ; for his Nose always run, and he stabber'd at the mouth, and his Father could not endure him ; and when he came home at night the Boy would use to be in the Chimney corner, and my Husband would cry take away this snotty Fool, and jumble him about, which made me often weep, because you know he was my Child.*

This

This is *verbatim* what his Mother said of him, for I took special Notice of her Words. He was Born at *Oakam*, in the County of *Rutland*, his Father being then Chaplain to Collonel *Pride*, where he was brought up in his Childhood. In the Year 1664. he was brought to *Merchant-Taylors-School*, as a *Free-Schollar*, by *Nicholas Delwes*, Esq; now Living; he happening to be in Books that were Taught in my Forms, I was sent for down to Receive him into the School, which I did in a very unlucky hour. And truly, the first Trick he served me, was, That he Cheated me of our Entrance-Money which his Father sent me, which the Doctor generously confest in his Greatness at *Whitehall*, and very Honestly paid me then. I wish he had been as just in all his other greater Matters; if so, the Kingdom had not been in such Tormoyls, nor so many Honest Men Destroyed and Undone.

Coming one Evening to Visit him at *Whitehall*, I found *Bedloe* and *Prance* with him; amongst other Discourses, they Talkt of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*: *Oats* Laught at the business, and said, Here is *Bedloe*, that knew no more of the Murder than you or I did. But he got the Five Hundred Pound, and that did his work, and gave this Blockhead 30*l.* of it. He pickt him up in the Lobby of the House of Lords, and took him for a Loggerhead fit for his purpose; at which *Bedloe* laught heartily, and *Prance* look'd a little dull, as displeased. At this Rate I have heard *Oats* and *Bedloe* Discourse very often, who used always themselves to make the business of *Godfrey* a Ridiculous Story, and Entertain'd themselves when Private with the Jest on't.

At the Lord *Staffords* Tryal, I got in for Curiosity amongst the Witnesses against him; and that Morning the Sentence was past, when the Question of *Guilty* or *not Guilty* passing among the Barons, we being so near them as to hear what past, when the Major Voices at first went *Not Guilty*, *Dugdale* walk'd about very Melancholy and Dejected, muttering to himself: I ask'd him, what was the matter? he Replyed, *I believe he'll be Quitted, and I am undone; but let what will come on't, I am Ruin'd.* I hapned the Winter after this to be in *Dugdales* Company, in the Kitchen at the *Three-Tun Tavern* at *Charing-Cross* one Night; where an Old Gentleman happening to come to the Bar to Inquire for some Person there, I observed *Dugdale* to startle and stare: I ask'd him, what was the matter? he made me no Reply, but in much disorder rose up, and went to the Woman at the Bar, (the Gentleman being then gone) and ask'd, who that Antient Gentleman was? she told him, she knew him not. *God bless me*, said he, *I believe 'tis my Lord Stafford!* (as the Woman Inform'd me afterwards) and returning again to me, I ask'd him what he went out for? *Lord!* says he, *Did you not see a Gentleman come to the Bar, and Speak to the Woman of the*

Howse? No, said I, *My Back was towards the Bar, and I saw him not. I Protest*, replied he, *I thought it had been my Lord Stafford*; and continued so terrified with the Apprehension, that he was very uneasie, and went away.

This story coming to his Landladies Ear, who lived within a few Doors of the place, her Name Mrs. *Beak*, she and I discoursing this Matter, she told me also something of the like Nature of him, which was this: Having occasion to come into his Bed-Chamber for something, one Night, that she wanted from thence, when *Dugdale* was in bed, she went in softly with a candle in her hand, and a white Apron on, designing if asleep not to wake him; no sooner came she in, but *Dugdale* in a very great Fright and start, cryed out, *Stafford! Stafford! Stafford!* with many other expressions of a most Terrible Fear, till the Woman with much ado at last undeceived him.

It will not be amiss, in this place, to add the Relation of *Turbewils* Death, the other great Witness against the Lord *Stafford*: Falling sick of the *Small-Pox* at his Landladies, Mrs. *Holmes* in the *Savoy*, near his Death he began to Rave extreamly of *Stafford*, crying, *Take away Stafford! Take away Stafford!* with several other continued crys upon the same subject; which several Persons, both the Landladies Relations and others will Testifie: and at the Minute of his Death, his Bed shook so extreamly, that his Landlady and several other People then present, thought it would have fal'n to pieces. Nay, and there came such a strong blast of Wind, that the People were afraid the House would have been blown down. And 'tis not unknown also, that a much greater Man than *Turbewil*, at his Exit demonstrated an extraordinary Remembrance of *Stafford*.

I have given the Reader these particulars of my Conversation and Knowledge of those Villains, hoping that this small detection, (being what lay in my Reach) of these *Hellish Impostures*, which then Ruled our Ascendant, will not be ungrateful: And how unhappy soever I have been to my self, I have nevertheless always been a Faithful and Loyal Subject, and in those worst of *Times*, in my greatest Familiarity with *Oats*, I have used my little Power with him, to divert him from his Wickedness, having at several times, (as far as I durst with safety) dissuaded him from divers of his Malitious Accusations. In the Year 1681. I wholly deserted his company, and have never spoken to him since, and also gave Mr. *Secretary Jenkins* an Honest Account of things that I heard and saw, intending it as a Service to the King, as these following *Depositions* will Attest for me.

September 19th 1681. I delivered this
to Mr. Secretary Jenkins at his Office
in Whitehall.

A Bout the time that Mr. Colledge was taken, I well remember
one Mr. William Smith, a Fifth-Monarchy-man, askt me in
Otes's Chamber in Whitehall, in the presence of James Cres-
wel, William Dalby, and William Powel, (the two first being Otes's
Menial Servants) where Smith the Priest, Macnamarra, and the other
Irish Witnessees Lodged? I askt him why he enquired their Lodgings?
he replied, That himself and others would take them and carry them
to Tyburn, and hang them on the Gallows, and pin papers on their
Backs, to enform the World why they were Hanged. The said Smith
likewise told me at Greys in Scotland-yard, That he and others would
be about Henly, and meet Colledge, and Rescue him as easily as they
formerly Rescued Mason. This was in the presence of the aforesaid
Powel and Dalby; Smith then called Dalby into the next Room, and
talked with him some time.

About Bartholomew-tide 1680, Alderman Wilcocks gave a Treat
at the Crown Tavern without Temple-Barr to divers Gentlemen, of
which (he being my very good Friend) I was one, the time appointed
was one a Clock, about which time Otes, his Brother Sam, and
Counsellor Smith came; and about half an hour after, up comes
John Smith and Colledge; I not then well knowing Colledge,
askt John Smith, who he was, which he told me, saying, It was
Mr. Colledge the Protestant Joyner: One of the Company (I think it
was Colledge) produced a Pamphlet in Quarto of two sheets, about the
Duke of York, which was Read: It was long before Dinner came
up, which being ended, Mr. Otes, Mr. Savage, and Mr. John Smith,
fell into a friendly dispute in Divinity; Mr. Colledge was so far from
sleeping during their Discourse, that he was often interrupting them
with his Quibbles and Rhime-doggrel, for which Otes rebuked him.
I am very certain, neither Colledge, nor any body else, slept in the
Room before Dinner or after: We parted, and I left Otes, Smith,
Colledge, and others of the Company in an Alley by the Palsgraves
head.

The very day after (as I take it) that Colledge was Condemned,
about Nine in the Morning, I was walking through St. Margarets
Church.

Church-yard, Westminster, and Mr. Hunt the Lawyer hum'd to me; I met him, he complained of Colledges ill usage in many bitter expressions; among others, I very well remember, he said these words at our parting: By God, this pace will not carry it; we must take another course I askt him, what? he replyed, We must Dagger them, nothing but a Dagger will do it. Dagger who, quoth I? These Rogues the Judges, says he; we must make a Tumult in the street, and Stab them like Villains in their Coaches, for an Example to others; for no good will be done, we shall have no Justice, till these Rogues be served so.

Mr. Merry said to me in Mr. Otes's Chamber at Whitehall, when the Parliament was sitting at Oxford, 1682. That the King had a Design to seize upon all the Protestant honest Lords and Gentlemen at Oxford, and chop off their Heads; but, says he, They are well provided for Defence and Offence; yet the King will cut off all the honest Party, and bring in Popery at last by the help of the King of France; but if he Travels once more, neither he, nor any of the Race of him, will ever return.

Rhoderick Mansel at Lambs Ordinary in March 1679. told Mr. Savage, Mr. Hughs, Mr. Button, and my self; That there were Commissions given out, that Sir William Waller had seized them, that he had seen them, that he knew of Twenty Horses in divers Stables ready, that he and Collonel Disney would Head the Prentices; that he would Fight for the Cause in Blood up to the Knees, and that the King resolved to bring in Popery. This was before the business of Captain Tom.

Nicholson, when he was sitting up Otes's Pistols, a little before the Parliament met at Oxford, said to me; Come, come, we shall have occasion for these before we come back again from Oxford; I shall be once again on Horseback: I would I were Twenty Years Younger. He was a Trooper in Cromwells Army.

The aforesaid Creswel is a most Audacious Villain; His many Horrid Expressions against the King, and the great Ministers of State, would fill many Sheets. His ordinary Execrations against the King, are, The Devil confound him, he is a Papist; the Devil run through him with a Scythe at's Back: The Devil Run through that Papist Whore, that Bitch, the Queen with a Scythe at's Back. The like Curses against the Chancellor, Mr. Seymore, Secretary Jenkins, Privy Seal, &c. I have heard him express, (I do really think) above a hundred times.

Doctor

Doctor Oates hath in my hearing, I believe, a hundred times, affirmed very Peremptorily, That the Supream Power was in the People; That the King was but the Peoples Servant and Steward; That the People had Power to Depose him, and set up another when they pleased: That the King was as deep in the Plot, and was as Errant a Papist as his Brother: That the King had Suborned VVitnesses to stifle the Popish Plot, and to throw it upon the Protestants; mentioning Dangerfield, Tongue, and Fitz-Harris.

One day, when Tongue was Examined before the Council, Oates told me, All the Subornation will come up to our Master, at last; meaning the King.

Many times Oates has said to me, His Fingers Itches (meaning the King) to bring in Popery, and the French Government; But it will not do; we are ready, we are Provided against him with Men and Arms, upon any occasion: He may remember what became of former Kings that abused Parliaments: Let him Remember his Father; He must expect the same Sauce if he goes on.

The Persons that most frequented Oates's Chamber, were, Councillor Smith, Starkey, Pascal, Charleton, Aaron Smith, VWilson, Burroughs, Nelthrop, VWest, Hunt, Snow, Halford, Blaney, Merry, Mansel, Sir Hugh Inglesby, Collonel Scot, Chetwin, Colledge, Yarrington, Harrington, Dr. Jones, Dr. Butler, Dr. Pele, Dr. a Prebendary of Chichester, Cannon, Billing, Penn, and VWhitacre.

That Afternoon Oates Returned from Oxford after Colledges Tryal, he laid him down on the Chairs in his Chamber at Whitehall, and said, Oh! there is a great Man fallen this day in Israel! I wish I may lay down my Life in so just a Cause: He is his Countries Martyr. Well! well! we may now see how the Game is like to go; Our Master (meaning the King) is resolved to bring in Popery: No Man ever had such foul Play as this poor Colledge; all the True Protestants will be Murdered thus one after another.

Major Wildman, and Mr. Charleton Furnished Oates at his going to Oxford to the Parliament with Forty Pound, his Collections are now gathered by Elias Best the Hop-Merchant in Thames-street.

William Powel said to me one day in Scotland-yard, Dam this Dog Warcup! By God, if I could light on him handsomely, I would Cut his Throat, he hath been the cause of all this mischief; meaning

the business of Colledge. This Powel will commonly say, Our Family lost a great Estate by Windsor at the Kings coming in, but if things go on we shall get it again I doubt not.

I have dined times in Oates's Chamber in Whitehall (particularly after the Dissolution of the Two last Parliaments, and during that at Westminster) heard Henry Starkey, Aaron Smith, Mr. Hunt, Mr. Wilson, Mr. Cherwin, Mr. Thomas Merry, Mr. Richard Halford, Mr. VWhitaker, Colonel Mansel, and Doctor Oates, Affirm and Discourse thus, We have 20000 Horse and Foot, ready Armed upon occasion; we value not the Kings Guards a Far; and if the Duke of Monmouth will but draw his Sword, he'll find Friends enough; and if the Parliament would but sit, their Friends could Protect them against the King, and all his Guards. The means how they can have 20000 Men so ready (as far as I could perceive) is this, The Gentlemen of the Three Great Clubs, and their Adherents of the better sort, and the meaner sort of the Trained-bands, are double Armed; I have heard many of them say, They would loose their Lives before they would part with their Arms, and if the King should come to demand them, they would Fire upon him.

I Remember, when the matter of presenting the Guards was on Foot, that Mr. Merry said to me, The Grand Inquest are Cowardly and Timorous Fellows, and dare not go through with the work, they are too much of the Court Party; but afterwards upon advice from my Lord Shaftsbury, the business was laid aside: My Lord said, It was better to let the Guards alone, because they were of small moment to obstruct our Designs, and help'd to Impoverish the King; This Dr. Otes told me, and I once heard my Lord Speak to that purpose. Otes often visited my Lord Shaftsbury, and was put upon Swearing against the Duke of York, by his Instigation; as Otes himself told me, and verily, I believe it was true. Dr. Otes, when I have ask'd him of my Lord Shaftsbury, hath often told me, my Lord was Well, and would say, what are they all Starved yet at Whitehall? the King will not be able to buy a Shirt to his Back in a short time.

And I once heard my Lord say to Otes; I shall see thee Bishop of Winchester, or Canterbury before I Dye: This was occasioned by Otes's threatening my Lord Chancellor, and saying, He was a Rogue, and he would stick as close to him as the Shirt on his back. This was in August, 1678.

Aaron Smith told me in Otes's Chamber, that a Namesake of mine made the Ballad of the Raree Show, I ask'd him, who, he then answered me, You see him.

Mr. Burroughs the Glass-seller in York-buildings, commonly repaired to Otes's Chamber on Sunday in the Morning. His Province is to get to be a Jury Man at Hicks's-Hall and Westminster, and to obstruct all business tending to the advantage of the Crown, to make a disturbance in the Parish, to Rail against the Bishops, to perswade the People the King is bringing in Arbitrary Power and Popery, and to Contribute, and Raise Money for Otes.

Mr. VVilson one morning in March last, in Otes's Chamber Discouraged to no thing; VVe must draw our Swords, nothing will be done with these Pimps and Rogues without it, meaning the Ministers of State: The King will never be good till we force him to it; nor the Nation Happy till another course be taken; we shall see Popery and Despotical Power overwhelm us, unless we draw our Swords, and Fight for our Religion and Liberty. This VVilson was continually Singing Bawdy and Treasonable Songs Reflecting on the King.

Mr. Richard Halford is an old Leveller, and a Commonwealths man; He was an Agitator at New-Market, and in Thompsons Broil at Burford, in 1647. and hath been (I do believe) in all the Factionous Cabals this Twenty Years: He is a very close and dangerous Man, and hath had the Dexterity to Preserve himself undiscovered.

Mr. Blaney of the Temple, the Short-Hand Writer, did in my hearing in Otes's Chamber say, There was a Printing-Press, in the Temple, where they could do any thing: and by several hints I have heard, I am perswaded, most of the Treasonable Libels of late Years were Printed there. Mr. John Harrington did at the same time Demonstrate how easie it was for a Gentleman to Compose and Print, which, he said, Prevented all the Discovery by Mercenary Printers.

Sir Henry Inglesby told me, one Afternoon in September last, in Otes's Chamber, That he believed all the True Protestants in Ireland, would have their Throats Cut in a short time by the Papists, and that by the connivance, if not command of the Duke of Ormond, and some body else.

Mr. VVilliam Snow, who belongs to the House of Lords, is a very great Confident of Dr. Otes's: He, when the Parliament Sits, Informs

the Faction Party what he hears about the House of Lords; shows Lists of the Lords Names, and tells which are Honest Protestants, and which are Rogues and Tories: He is a constant Singer of all the late Treasonable and Bawdy Ballads, that abuse the King and Government.

Mr. VWilliam Dalby, Otes's Clerk, hath often told me, That the King was a Papist, that Mr. Parsons of the Temple had many times seen him at Mass at Somerset-House: That the King was drunk when he Dissolved the Parliament at Oxford, so Drunk that he could not stand or Speak. I have often heard Mr. Dalby say, This Popish Race of the Stewarts must be Rooted out, there must be a Change. He was formerly Clerk to the Committee of the Rebels in Rutland.

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Thus far Gentlemen, I have given you a small insight into this Grand Popular Cheat, this great Mystery of Iniquity, and as far as my little Walk amongst them has Empower'd me to do. And truly, if all Persons farther concern'd, would be as Candid as my Self, undoubtedly the whole Imposture would be fully Detect- ed, and the yet unsatisfied part of Mankind wholly undeceived.

F I N I S.

Mr. VWilliam Dalby, Otes's Clerk, hath often told me, That the King was a Papist, that Mr. Parsons of the Temple had many times seen him at Mass at Somerset-House: That the King was drunk when he Dissolved the Parliament at Oxford, so Drunk that he could not stand or Speak. I have often heard Mr. Dalby say, This Popish Race of the Stewarts must be Rooted out, there must be a Change. He was formerly Clerk to the Committee of the Rebels in Rutland.

P O S T S C R I P T,

Some things being omitted in the preceding Discourse, it may not be thought impertinent to insert them in this *Appendix*; And first, I shall give an account (so far as fell under my knowledge,) of the wrongs Dr. Goad Mr. of *Merchant-Taylors School* sustain'd in the late time of *Fraud and Injustice*, hoping that Pious and Learned Person, will not take my honest and fair Intentions otherwise than I mean them.

The *Faction Party* of the Company had watch'd with malicious Eyes to gain any advantage for several years against Him; But either not finding any plausible one, or esteeming him a Man so extraordinarily qualify'd, that a better could not be found in the Three Kingdoms, (and there I'm sure they were in the right,) They attempted not to Eject him, but lessen'd him in Priviledges belonging to his Place, some years (I think I may say) before *Oates's Plot* appear'd above-ground. It so fell out, in the beginning of the year 1681, (as I take it,) that *John Smith*, (commonly call'd *Narrative Smith*, but his real name is *David Barry*,) happen'd to Dine with *Elias Best* the *Hop-merchant* in *Thames-street*; He having Sons at *Merchant-Taylors-School*, desir'd *J. Smith* to examine how they benefitted in Learning: These Boys producing their Books, drew out the *Ch. of England's Catechism* with a Comment upon it; in which Comment *Smith* positively avow'd there was plain *Popery* upon our B. Saviour's descent into Hell. This formidable *Spectrum* of *Popery* thus opportunely conjur'd up by *Smith* the *Renegado Priest*; the *True Prot. Elias* manag'd so effectually, that *Bushel, Mallery, Keys, Delves*, and other Fanatical Members of *Merchants Taylors Company*, caus'd Dr. Goad to be summon'd to the Hall to answer for his Comment; which he undertook, and unhappily did it under his Hand, which was the only thing they wanted. Next, they consulted their Oracles, *Oates, Ferguson*, and Dr. *Owen* the *Independant*; The first to *Swear*, and the latter to *Evict the Popery* of the Comment, and its Defence.

Notwithstanding during the time that this Affair was transacted, I was very intimate with *Oates*, yet he cautiously conceal'd it from me, knowing I would endeavour to prevent it, having so great a Veneration for Dr. Goad, He being the best Friend I ever found; However he had before often tamper'd with me to have accus'd the Dr. of being a *Papist*; which, neither knowing, or Believing him so, I refus'd to do, telling *Oates*, that it would be the greatest piece of Ingratitude imaginable in Him to attempt any such thing; To which he would always answer, I did not spare You who were my Mr. too, and therefore why should I spare Him? And for this aversion of mine, I was then wholly kept a stranger to their projects against him, till they had fully done their work.

But to give you the full account of this Comment, and the Dr's. Ruine that attended it; The matter of Fact is as follows. Upon a fit of Sicknefs that the Dr. lay under, the conduct of his School was wholly left to the *Ushers*, who driving (as is well known) a great Trade in Selling Books to the Schollars, did at that time, for their own private Lucrē, Introduce this Comment upon the *Church-Catechism* into the School; which was so far from being *Popish*, that it was both Licens'd, and Dedicated to the then Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. Now tho' the Dr. did very honestly in defending it, it was more than he was oblig'd to do, because it was brought into the School without his knowledge; The Fault (if any had been,) lying only at the *Ushers* dores, who, by the Custom of that School ought first to have consulted the Dr. (which they never did,) and to have had his approbation, this Book being for the lower Formes only; The *Catechism* used in the Fifth and Sixth Formes under the Dr's. more immediate Care, being only in *Greek*, without any Comment at all.

Now, though the Dr. did give his Enemies the above-nam'd advantage against him, by getting it under his Hand; and for That only reason, (this being the only quarrel against him,) they depriv'd him of his School, and utterly blasted his Name and Reputation to the world, as a down-right *Papist*, yet That whole Tenent on which they grounded their pretended *Poper*y, was expressely a particular Doctrine of the Ch. of *England*, the descent of our Saviour into Hell being a special Article, even of our very *Apostles Creed*. But forsooth, because several Fanaticks dissent from Us in that Point of our Belief, those very persons were set up for Judges in the Cause, and even a Defence of our Ch. of *England* (the Dr's. Defence of the Comment being no other,) Arraign'd, Convicted, and Condemn'd as *Popish* and *Antichristian*, by the Sentence and Decree of *Oates*, *Ferguson*, *Owen*, &c. together with the Assent of *Busbel*, *Mallary*, *Keys*, and the rest of the Lay Brethren in *Inquisition* assembled.

Why the reforming Zeal of Dr. *Owen* was so active in Dr. *Goad's* Ruin, was, for the introduction of his Sisters Son Mr. *Harcloff*, into his place; a Person undoubtedly not unworthy of the Preferment, for having once Heroically attempted to Preach before His late Majesty, and not being able to utter one word of his Sermon, he descended from the Pulpit as great an *Orator* as he went up, Treating His Majesty with no other Entertainment than a silent Meeting.

But to give you the farther management of this Affair, passing by all the Injustice done to Dr. *Goad*, here was a violation of the Custom of the School in introducing this Mr. It being agreed *ab Origine*, between Famous Sir *Thomas White*, Merchant *Taylor*, and Founder of St. *Johns Colledge* in *Oxford*, and the Company of Merchant *Tailors*, that the Mr. of that School should always be a Member of that Colledge, which this man was not, being an *Eaton* Scholar, and consequently of *Cambridge*.

Now their reason for this illegal Election of a *School-master*, the Then over-ruling Faction Party of the Merchant-Tailors, (though offer'd an able Man by the Colledge) suspended this Custom, pretending That the Colledge of St. *Johns* would send none but Persons that would propagate *Poper*y; so that here's the Gown-men of a whole Colledge at one stroke branded with *Poper*y by these Infallible *Mechanick Furs*.

About the time of this Business of Dr. *Goads*, Nat. *Thompson* had Publish'd in his *News-Book* the Apprentices intent of burning the *Rump*, which being no sooner view'd with a pair of *Whig-Spectacles*, but it was turn'd to a *Popish Plot*, and to be manag'd by Sir *W. Waller*; In order to which, he attempted to get a Warrant from the Privy Council for *Thompson*; But That Project failing, he decoy'd him in another persons Name without *Temple-Bar*, and there by his own Warrant charg'd him with *High Treason*, and committing him to the *Gate-house*; The next day Sir *Will.* made it his whole business to boast what great Service he had done to the Cause in securing Him; further telling me, that *Thompson* had said, and done such things that did amount to *Treason*, and he did not doubt but to Hang him. But as Providence order'd it, in few days after Sir *Will.* was fairly dismiss'd of his Justice-ship, and consequently made incapable of Plund'ring any more: Upon which he stept for *Holland*, and there turn'd his Plunder'd Relicks, &c. into Gold, to the value of 6 or 700 *l*.

One Slander more they cast upon me, was, that I writ Seditious Pamphlets for *Oates*; Truly I will not wrong him, he never desir'd any such thing of me; Indeed he promis'd me 20 *l. per annum*, and Dyet, to Translate certain Books in *Latine* concerning the Institutions, Rules and Orders of the *Jesuits*; Some of which I put into *English*, and have part of them yet by me; all which, if Printed, would no ways prejudice *Jesuits*, or other persons, but be useful to many curious men. Now for all my pains *Oates* never paid me one Penny, though he punctually satisfy'd *John Philips* for writing the many Lies and Villanies that even yet remain under his Name on every Fanatical Bookfellers Stall. Many other wrongs I have long labour'd under, which I believe, if known, would draw compassion from my greatest Enemies; But those having no relation to the Publick, shall be now conceal'd.

ERRATA.

Page 4. l. 35. r. Bobbing in Kent. p. 7. l. 19. r. October. p. 8. l. ult. r. Plot. p. 17. l. 11. r. Mr. Clare, Barrister. p. 19. for 13 d. r. 18 d. a Week. p. 21. l. 36. for question r. mention. p. 33. l. 24. r. this Comment.

in Apr.
1620

